

WOMEN IN THE MILITARY:
A QUESTION OF UTILIZATION

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NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL

Monterey, California



THESIS

WOMEN IN THE MILITARY:
A QUESTION OF UTILIZATION

by

James Arthur Tamplin, Jr.

December 1974

Thesis Advisor:

W. H. Church

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T164074

REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE		READ INSTRUCTIONS BEFORE COMPLETING FORM
1. REPORT NUMBER	2. GOVT ACCESSION NO.	3. RECIPIENT'S CATALOG NUMBER
4. TITLE (and Subtitle) WOMEN IN THE MILITARY: A QUESTION OF UTILIZATION		5. TYPE OF REPORT & PERIOD COVERED Master's Thesis December 1974
7. AUTHOR(s) James Arthur Tamplin, Jr.		6. PERFORMING ORG. REPORT NUMBER
9. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME AND ADDRESS Naval Postgraduate School Monterey, California 93940		8. CONTRACT OR GRANT NUMBER(s)
11. CONTROLLING OFFICE NAME AND ADDRESS Naval Postgraduate School Monterey, California 93940		10. PROGRAM ELEMENT, PROJECT, TASK AREA & WORK UNIT NUMBERS
14. MONITORING AGENCY NAME & ADDRESS (if different from Controlling Office) Naval Postgraduate School Monterey, California 93940		12. REPORT DATE December 1974
		13. NUMBER OF PAGES 104
		15. SECURITY CLASS. (of this report) Unclassified
		15a. DECLASSIFICATION/DOWNGRADING SCHEDULE
16. DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT (of this Report) Approved for public release; distribution unlimited.		
17. DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT (of the abstract entered in Block 20, if different from Report)		
18. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES		
19. KEY WORDS (Continue on reverse side if necessary and identify by block number) Women; Servicewomen; Utilization of Servicewomen; Equal Opportunity; All-Volunteer Force; Equal Rights Amendment.		
20. ABSTRACT (Continue on reverse side if necessary and identify by block number) The dependence of the Armed Forces on women as the solution to the manpower gap created by the All-Volunteer Force, coupled with the impact of the women's liberation movement, prompted an examination of the existing barriers to the full utilization of women by the Services. For analysis, these barriers are broken down into three categories: those caused		

Block 20 - ABSTRACT (Cont.)

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The effect of the probable ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment in eliminating these barriers is examined. Other possible means for their abolition are also examined. The solutions proposed in this thesis may assist the Armed Services by illustrating the basic restrictions preventing the full utilization of servicewomen.

Women in the Military:
A Question of Utilization

by

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Lieutenant, United States Navy
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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE IN MANAGEMENT

from the

NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL
December 1974

ABSTRACT

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I. INTRODUCTION

It is the purpose of this thesis to examine the Services as a whole and identify the areas of discrimination against women that currently exist within them. It will also present additional areas of discrimination outside of the military which prohibit the full utilization of women and restrict their career potential. Finally, this thesis will offer some possible solutions to bring about the elimination of these barriers.

The introductory section of this thesis will in a sense serve to set the scene for the remainder of the thesis. The first part of this section will deal with the changing times which greatly affect the Armed Forces. Specific review will be made of the effect of the All-Volunteer Force, the women's liberation movement and the Equal Rights Amendment. The other part of this section will consist of an overview of the barriers which limit the utilization of servicewomen, and the pledge made by the Department of Defense for full equality for women.

Women in other than a medical role have been a permanent part of the Armed Forces of the United States since 1948 [Ref. 7]. Up until that time women were used in either a civilian capacity or in various "auxiliary" components of the individual Services. They were considered essential only in time of national emergency to take the place of a man on the homefront so that he could go away to the

battlefield. Although this attitude still exists as the proper role of women in the military, the advent of the All-Volunteer Force concept and the inroads made in society's traditional concepts by the women's liberation movement have made this thinking no longer applicable or realistic.

The main problem the Armed Forces face today is the development of a means for a total utilization of the talents and capabilities of servicewomen. The problem is further complicated by the lack of a complete description of the existing barriers to this goal and the outlining of possible solutions for their elimination. Although there have been some studies made in the general area of this problem, they have essentially dealt with only particular branches of the Services such as the Women's Army Corps or the Women in the Air Force [Refs. 40 and 51]. They have also only dealt with particular aspects of the problem such as the effect of the probable passage of the Equal Rights Amendment or the position of the female Unrestricted Navy Line Officer in relation to that of her male peers [Refs. 96 and 17]. Each of these studies has shown a small part of the overall problem, but none of them has presented an overall examination of the existing restrictions which prohibit the full utilization of servicewomen by the Armed Forces and which at the same time place a limit upon the success which a woman can achieve in a military career.

The words of the then Secretary of Defense, Elliot P. Richardson, quoted in Ref. 60 serve to illustrate the need

for this type of research by the military community in meeting this demanding problem:

"We need to make more and better use of women. We say this not just because we're for, in principle, the idea of assuring the equality of opportunity to women. We're not talking about the Department of Defense or the Services as instruments for putting an end to the vestiges of discrimination toward women. We're talking about the very direct interests of the Services, for their own purposes, in doing a better job for the United States in the era of the All-Volunteer Force.....

"We're not thinking in terms of what we can do for women, we're thinking in terms of what women can do for us and for the national security. And I'm not sure that we're asking them to do enough." ,

A. CHANGING TIMES

This part of the introductory section will examine the effect of the All-Volunteer Force on the Services by the increase in the numbers of servicewomen and the increased number of career fields available to servicewomen. It will examine the effect the women's liberation movement has had on the Armed Forces. Also included in this part will be a review of the status of the Equal Rights Amendment as of 30 June 1974.

As a result of the technological advances in the area of home appliances, the role of a housewife is no longer a full-time profession. In addition, with the decreasing average age at which women get married coupled with an earlier age for childbearing, the average married woman is only 32 when the youngest child becomes of school age [Ref. 25]. Therefore, she could be said to be liberated for a career in business or government if she so chooses. Finally, there is

a movement within society as a whole which is examining and questioning the traditional sex-roles assigned to both men and women. These statements explain some of the changes that were occurring within the whole society, but the change in the times which affected the military the greatest was the shift from the draft to the All-Volunteer Force concept on 1 July 1973 [Ref. 11].

1. The All-Volunteer Force

Sensing the growing hostility and resentment toward the draft as a by-product of the disillusionment from the involvement of the United States in the Viet Nam Conflict, President Nixon allowed the authorization for the draft to expire and initiated the All-Volunteer Force concept. As a result of this decision, the Armed Forces were placed into the unfavorable position of having to compete with industry for the talent they desired. This act placed a mandate on the Armed Services for a total re-examination of our current utilization of the talents and abilities of all those in the military, especially minorities and women.

a. The Increase In The Number Of Servicewomen

As of the change from the draft to the All-Volunteer Force concept on 1 July 1973, in none of the branches of the Armed Forces did women constitute more than three per cent of the service's total active duty manpower [Refs. 91, 75, 92 and 69]. This was in spite of the fact that the two per cent ceiling initially set by Congress had been eliminated in 1967 [Ref. 41]. After studying the labor market

and realizing what industry had already learned, the Services initiated plans to increase the size of their servicewomen's ranks. The target date for completing this increase has been set for Fiscal Year 1978, but even if the stated goals are met the maximum percentage of manpower made up by women for any of the Services will be less than seven per cent.

b. The Expansion of Career Fields Open To Servicewomen

In keeping with the increase in numbers of servicewomen, the Services have also pursued a program of opening up more of the available career fields to the entrance of women. Presently, of the 482 Military Occupational Specialities (MOSs) available to enlisted personnel in the Army 443 are open to women [Ref. 61]. For enlisted women in the Air Force 275 out of a total of 282 speciality areas are open and only three officer specialities are closed to women [Ref. 37]. All Navy enlisted ratings are open to women, and Women Marines can serve in 28 out of the total 39 occupational fields open to males [Refs. 75 and 97]. These figures are perhaps not as impressive as the comparison of the percentage of career fields open to women as late as June 1971 with the percentage open in the beginning of the transition to the All-Volunteer Force in October 1972 which is presented in Ref. 5. The Army went from 39 to 89 per cent, the Navy from 24 to 96 per cent and the Air Force from 51 to 98 per cent. Only the Marine Corps showed a decrease in the percentage, from 36 to 31 per cent. As stated above, even this decrease on the part of the Marine Corps has been changed so that now 72 per cent are open to women.

2. Women's Liberation Movement

This particular social phenomenon serves as a focal point for a revolutionary movement which is calling for a complete, open and honest appraisal of society as it currently exists. No longer are the traditional sex-roles and mores to be blindly accepted as the way things must be. This movement is a revolt against the concept that man alone is free to select the path his life will follow throughout his adult years. Woman too should be able to decide whether or not marriage and homemaking is to be the focal point of her life and what career she wants to pursue unhampered by social and male biases as to her selection. Killian has summed up this feeling which reflects the striving by women for the attainment of true equality with men, the acceptance by men and society as an individual [Ref. 49].

"Shattered and destroyed forever are the traditional concepts that a woman's place is in the home, that her role is limited to serving the pleasures and needs of man as sex mate, field hand, household servant, cook, and bearer and guardian of children. She is no longer satisfied to remain placidly at home, no longer content with limited education and unimportant jobs. She has arrived on the business scene and is committed to costarring roles with men in every phase of enterprise. The transition has moved her into the factory, the office, the laboratory, and the executive suite as a participant and contributor equal to her male counterpart. Although business has yet to recognize her as man's equal, she insists on two things: a challenge and a chance - a responsible job to be done and the opportunity to do it.

"She has come to stay and to produce. She expects opportunities and compensation comparable to a man's. She intends to be heard. She anticipates recognition and personal fulfillment. She expects to work in comfortable and pleasant surroundings.

She insists on personal and courteous treatment from her associates and supervisors. She demands facilities appropriate to her special physical and emotional needs. She wants to prove herself a human being who is able to do a job. And she doesn't care that her presence causes changes in traditional practices."

This then is the type of woman who is now being recruited into the Armed Forces in larger numbers than her predecessors and into previously male only career fields. It is with this type of woman in mind that the Services must examine their present policies for existing areas of discrimination against women. This is the kind of woman who has already demonstrated to the Services that she is not afraid to stand up against policies that she felt did discriminate against her, and has won the court decisions which have forced the Armed Forces to change their previously existing policies.

3. The Equal Rights Amendment

Just as the Nineteenth Amendment giving women the right to vote was the monument to the determination of the suffragettes, the Equal Rights Amendment is the culmination of the social revolution spearheaded by the women's liberation movement. The Amendment was approved by the Senate on 22 March 1972 and has seven years in which to be ratified by the required 38 states [Ref. 78]. The principal clause in the Amendment as reported in Ref. 78 is:

"Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex."

On 7 February 1974 Ohio became the thirty-third state to ratify the Amendment leaving only five states to go before the requirement for ratification by 38 states is met [Ref. 63]. As a result of the limited number of state legislatures meeting in 1974 which have not passed the Amendment, there is little likelihood that the required number can be met until 1975 [Ref. 79]. In addition to the campaign that must be waged by the equal rights proponents for the five additional ratifications, they must consider the possibility of losing two of the ratifications that they already have. On 24 April 1974 Tennessee joined Nebraska in reversing its previous stand for passage [Ref. 82]. Whether these reversals will be allowed to stand will be heatedly contested in the courts. If and when the Amendment does receive the required number of state ratifications it will take two additional years to go into effect [Ref. 78].

This portion of the thesis has briefly commented on the effects of the All-Volunteer Force, the women's liberation movement and the proposed Equal Rights Amendment. This is the climate in which the examination of the problem must be made. The next portion of the introductory section will cover the barriers to the full utilization of servicewomen and present a review of the pledge made to women by the Department of Defense's Human Goals Credo.

B. THE PROBLEM

The barriers to the full utilization of servicewomen may be broken down into three areas of discrimination: legal, service, and psychological/sociological restrictions. This portion of the thesis will define the make-up and effect of each of these three areas on the utilization of servicewomen. It will additionally, review the problem created by the issuance of the Department of Defense's Human Goals Credo as it pertains to the Armed Forces.

At the present place in time, the Armed Forces find themselves in an era of change - change in society as a whole which exerts pressures and influences from without and from within the military structure. They also find themselves in keen competition with industry in the labor market for the people with the talents and abilities that the Armed Forces need to carry out their assigned missions. Compounding this recruitment problem is the existence of a generation which makes up the most sought after sector of the labor force - those completing high school and/or college, who are totally disillusioned with the military and the traditional value structure that the Services hold so dear [Refs. 85 and 13]. Resolution of these problems requires isolation of all aspects so that they can be examined in such a manner that will lead to manageable solutions of achievable goals.

1. The Extent Of Utilization

The problem created for the Armed Forces by the shift to the All-Volunteer Force concept is that of recruitment and retention of the best personnel possible in order that the Services can continue to carry out their assigned missions. During the examination of this problem the Services quickly came to the same conclusion industry had been driven to years before by the draft. That fact was that there were simply not enough talented men alone to do the job, and thus women had to be turned to in order to fill the manpower gap that existed. The then Chairman of the United States Civil Service Commission, John W. Macy, Jr., summed up this fact when he stated in Ref. 53:

"There must be a new recognition of the value of women as a critical and vital resource in the economic life of the nation. There must be a realization that equal employment opportunity for women is not a favor to women but an economic necessity. Women are over one-third of the labor force of the United States. The fact is that the high levels of economic activity we now enjoy cannot be maintained without the extensive employment of women, both in government and in industry.

"....our rising expectations require a rate of economic development that can be achieved only with the full and effective use of womenpower."

Macy first made this statement in July 1966, even before the two per cent ceiling on women in the Services was abolished. To bring this point more up-to-date and specifically to link the use of women by the Services to fill this manpower gap is a quote by the then Secretary of Defense, Elliot P. Richardson, in March 1973 [Ref. 60]:

"An important consideration in implementing the All-Volunteer Force was the potential trade-off between men and women. By enlisting more women, fewer men had to be enlisted. Also, because the proportion of women in the Armed Forces was much smaller than that of men it was comparatively easy to maintain high quality standards among women entries."

The next three sections of this paper will serve to outline the specific categories of restrictions which presently serve to prohibit the free and full utilization of women in the Armed Forces. Due to the rapidly changing nature of this particular topic, the author has decided to select 1 July 1974, the beginning of Fiscal Year 1975, as the cutoff date for any changes which might affect the development of this thesis. This fact must be borne in the mind should some significant change occur prior to the reading of this thesis.

a. Legal Restrictions

This first of the three general categories of restrictions against the full utilization of women by the Services refers to the Congressional acts which form a part of the "Law of the Land." Thus the removal of any of these restrictions also requires Congressional approval in the form of a new law. The most recent of this type of change was the elimination of the differences in the enlistment ages for men and women. Perhaps this category of restrictions is the one most familiar to the general public as a result of the confrontation within the Senate and the House of Representatives over the Equal Rights Amendment. These quarrels were largely over whether or not the Amendment

would require women to be drafted or be eligible for combat duty. Senator Stennis of Mississippi, for example, in Ref. 4:

"visualized mothers of small children 'living in barracks...carrying M-16 rifles...driving tanks... and being taken prisoner in the Jungles of Vietnam...' "

As of the cutoff date for this paper, 1 July 1974, the remaining legal barriers to the full utilization of women by the Services are the use by the Navy of women on warships; the use of women in combatant aircraft by the Navy, Marine Corps and the Air Force; the requirement for separate promotion lists in the Navy, Marine Corps and the Army; and the exclusion of women from entrance to the service academies.

b. Service Restrictions

Of the three areas of restrictions to the utilization of women by the Armed Forces, the category defined as "Service Restrictions" stands out as the most damaging to the credibility of the Services when they point to themselves as areas of true equal opportunity to women. This area alone is totally within the power of each of the individual Services to correct the situation in which the discrimination based upon sex exists. Rather than taking the necessary actions to perform this themselves, the Services have chosen to fight for the discriminatory practices found within their structures. As a result, the Armed Forces have in a sense crippled their own recruitment efforts by adverse publicity. Some of the most highly contested court cases of the early

Seventies have resulted from discriminatory practices that existed within the structures of the Services. Coming from the decisions and threat of unfavorable decisions toward the Armed Forces have been numerous changes that have greatly improved the lot of servicewomen. The major changes that have been made in this area are the receipt of full dependent benefits for servicewomen with civilian husbands, the initiation of waivers for pregnant women in service who desired to remain in service, the elimination of the need of a waiver to allow a married woman to enlist and the initiation of waivers to enlist or remain in the service with dependent children under 18. The remaining restrictions in this category can be grouped into two categories: enlistment differences and regulations concerning the prohibition of women entering career fields that are combat related. Again, the important factor in this general category of "Service Restrictions" is the fact that the individual Services have the ability to totally eliminate them by doing nothing more than removing the existing regulations.

c. Psychological And Sociological Restrictions

The discriminatory laws found in the first general category of restrictions can be removed by the passage of new laws. The discriminatory practices found in the second general category can be wiped out by the removal or replacement of the existing regulations. But the restrictions found in this final category of restrictions will be as hard -- to change as it is to completely change the thinking of

society as a whole. In this category the traditional sex-roles for both men and women must be eliminated not only in education and play of children but also in the attitudes held by men and women alike. Only in this way will the conflict situations of fear of success, career versus family and femininity versus aggressiveness be resolved in the minds of women. This area of discrimination is best summed up by a quote from Jane Prather in Ref. 64:

"...as long as society continues to conceptualize women as sex objects and servants, employers are unlikely to consider women as serious participants in the labor force who can command responsible positions and demand high salaries. Moreover, as long as socialization practices persist which reinforce dependency, passivity, and nonassertiveness in girls and which discourage girls from seriously pursuing higher education, few women will train to compete equally with men occupationally. Because of the many myths society holds about employment of women, many men do not treat their women co-workers as equals. Furthermore, if society continues to regard work, a career, or a full-time occupation as masculine pursuits, few women will strive to seek the few opportunities open. Even if the laws and policies which discriminate against women achieving equality with men in the labor force are eliminated, the battle for equality is not won. At the socio-psychological level, what is also required is an exposé of the myths and beliefs that limit women's potentiality."

2. The Pledge To Servicewomen Contained In The Department Of Defense's Human Goals Credo

Not only are the Armed Forces faced with the problem of existing barriers to the full utilization of women to fill the manpower gap that exists in the recruitment and retention of the best qualified people possible, but they are also faced with the problem of fulfilling the pledge made by their civilian bosses in the Department of Defense. This



pledge of equal opportunity for all regardless of sex and its fulfillment strongly affect the credibility of the Armed Forces and their programs. This problem is further complicated by the refusal of the Services to even change regulations within their own structures except by court direction or threat of court action. Additional complications are added to the problem when the Services decide to testify in Congressional hearings in such a manner that is unfavorable to their stated goals of equality of the sexes but is in line with the desires of influential members of Congress who threaten reprisal measures unless such a stand is taken [Ref. 14]. The pertinent parts of the Human Goals Credo as regards the equality of the sexes state [Ref. 16]:

"Our nation was founded on the principle that the individual has infinite dignity and worth. The Department of Defense,...., must always be guided by this principle. In all we do, we must show respect for...., the servicewomen...., recognizing their individual needs, aspirations and capabilities.

"....we must increase the attractiveness of a career in Defense so that the service member.... will feel the highest pride in themselves and their work, in the uniform and the military profession.

THE ATTAINMENT OF THESE GOALS REQUIRES THAT WE STRIVE

"To provide opportunity for every one,...., to rise to as high a level of responsibility as possible, dependent only on individual talent and diligence;

"To make military...service in the Department of Defense a model of equal opportunity for all regardless of...., sex,...."

As can be seen by this quote the Services are truly in a difficult position of being required to fulfill not

only the letter but the intent of this credo, while at the same time they are coerced by members of Congress to support views during hearings and hesitate to remove discriminatory practices within their own individual structures. In such a case, there is truly a choice to be made by the leaders in each of the Services as to the credibility of their promises or to Congressional support with its associated preservation of the traditional sex-roles.

Seen by the points covered in the introductory section, the Armed Forces find themselves with a serious problem in an era of changing times. The Armed Services have not and are not living up to the Human Goals Credo for the majority. Therefore, they might well argue lack of compulsion to help the minority. The changes are due to the changeover to the All-Volunteer Force, the emergence of the women's liberation movement, and the probable ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. The problem is made up of two parts: the barriers to the full utilization of servicewomen and the requirement to implement the promises contained in the Human Goals Credo. In addition, the barriers to the full utilization of servicewomen are made up of three types: those created by Congress, those created by the Services and those created by society as a whole.

II. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

This section of the thesis will serve as a brief review of the history of women in the military as organized groups. It will begin with the formation of the nurse corps which was the first military organization composed of women. Next the existence of women in a non-medical role in World War I will be reviewed. The emergence of the servicewomen's organizations of World War II will then be examined. These groups were essentially the beginnings of servicewomen as they are known today. The Service Integration Act of 1948, which made all of these organizations regular parts of the military structure, will be covered. Finally, the changes made to benefit the lot of servicewomen will be reviewed to illustrate the disadvantages servicewomen have had to work under during their careers. This review of these changes will also point out the speed with which these changes are now occurring in the early Seventies.

"It is with deep gratitude for the splendid service rendered by the Yeomen (F) during our national emergency that I convey to them the sincere appreciation of the Navy Department for their patriotic cooperation."

With this message then Secretary of the Navy, Josephus Daniels, released from active duty the entire group of women who had served in the military during World War I except for the Army and Navy nurses [Ref. 102]. It was not to be until the event of another World War that women would again appear in the military other than in the acknowledged role of a

nurse. The following sections of this thesis will serve to illustrate the obstacles that they have had to overcome before achieving their position as it is recognized today.

A. CREATION OF THE ARMY NURSE CORPS

The introduction of women into the military in any established form occurred in 1901 when Congress created the Army Nurse Corps in the Army's Medical Department [Ref. 44]. The nurses who joined this organization were not given full officer rank, pay or benefits at that time. This initiation of women into the military ranks was followed in 1908 by the creation of the Navy Nurse Corps [Ref. 44]. These two organizations would serve as the bastion of women in the military until the introduction of the Yeomen (F) in World War I and again from the end of World War I until the creation of the WAAC in the beginning of World War II. During this forty year period that women were first in the military, it was thought that women were not needed except in national emergencies other than as nurses.

B. CREATION OF THE "YEOMANETTES"

As the United States was preparing for its eventual entry into World War I, the need arose for additional personnel to fill shore billets to permit the required buildup of personnel in seagoing billets. The then Secretary of the Navy, Josephus Daniels, instituted a legal examination to see if the laws would prohibit the enlistment of women into the Naval Reserve in the rate of yeoman. When his legal

aides reported that no restrictions could be found to prohibit this action, Daniels initiated action which resulted in the inclusion of the Yeomen (F) as a provision of the Act of 29 August 1916 which established the Naval Reserve Force [Ref. 102]. These Yeomen (F) served in both the Navy as Yeomanettes and in the Marine Corps as Marinettes until 31 July 1919 when they were released from active duty by Secretary Daniels [Ref. 102]. The legal loophole that the Navy had been able to use to establish the Yeomen (F) was in the law setting up the Naval Reserve Force which allowed the enlistment of citizens. The Army was not allowed the same latitude as the law setting up its Reserve Force specifically spoke of the enlistment of males. Although General Pershing, who was the commanding general of the American Expeditionary Force in France, backed the creation of a Women's Service Corps to provide the clerical and communication help that was so short in supply, the War Department rejected the idea to create a women's unit in the Army patterned after that of the Navy's Yeomen (F) or of the British WAACS [Ref. 44]. Instead, it was decided to send groups of civilian women hired under contract to alleviate the situation. These women wore uniforms but had no military status. A further illustration of the thinking of the time as regarding women in the military in peacetime other than as nurses is the Naval Reserve Act of 1925 which changed the word citizen to male, thus eliminating the loophole the Navy had used in creating the Yeomen (F) [Ref. 5].

C. CREATION OF THE WAAC

Throughout the period between the World Wars various attempts were made to create permanent components for women in the various branches of the Armed Forces, but it remained for the commencement of hostilities in the form of World War II before women would again see service in the uniforms of their country in other than a medical role. On 14 May 1942 President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Public Law 554 creating the Women's Auxiliary Army Corps [Ref. 44]. Following this another bill was signed creating the Women's Reserve of the Naval Reserve known as the WAVES (Women Accepted for Voluntary Emergency Service) on 30 July 1942 [Ref. 44]. The Women Marines were later brought into being on 13 February 1943 [Ref. 101]. The WAVES and Women Marines were not permitted to go overseas but had full military status, while at the same time the WAACs could go overseas but did not have military status as these organizations were originally created. This inconsistency was changed by another Congressional bill which was signed on 1 July 1943 [Ref. 44]. This gave the WAACs the same status as the men in the Army, but only in wartime, and officially changed their name to Women's Army Corps (WAC). These separate organizations which were created in the initial days of World War II were the beginnings of the women in the Armed Forces as they are known today.

D. THE SERVICE INTEGRATION ACT OF 1948

In 1947 the Army and Navy Nurse Corps along with the Army Women's Medical Specialist Corps, now the coed Army Medical Specialist Corps, became permanent members of the military establishment [Ref. 28]. Again there arose a great deal of discussion as to whether or not non-medical women were needed in and by the military during peacetime. The majority favored their retention this time, probably due to their longer tour of service in World War II as compared to World War I and the changing ideas that society was beginning to have toward the proper roles for women. On 12 June 1948 President Harry S. Truman signed Public Law 625, the Women's Armed Services Integration Act, which made all of the women's organizations permanent parts of the military establishment and created a separate organization for the newly created Air Force, Women in the Air Force (WAF) [Ref. 28]. Although this new act placed many restrictions on women which would later become matters of grave discontent, at least it was a step in the direction of the achievement of a non-medical career by women in the military establishment.

E. HERALD OF CHANGE

"In every time of crisis women have served our country in difficult and hazardous ways. They will do so now in the home and at work....Women should not be considered a marginal group to be employed periodically only to be denied opportunity to satisfy their needs and aspirations when unemployment rises or a war ends."

With these words President John F. Kennedy established the President's Commission on the Status of Women in 1961

[Ref. 50]. This group was the result of a growing movement within society which had begun questioning the role assigned to women by tradition and societal norms. Although it would be more than a decade later before the Equal Rights Amendment passed through Congress, the power of womanhood was beginning to make its presence felt throughout the nation. Not only were women in the civilian community examining their role as defined by society, but the women within the Armed Forces were beginning to question the restrictions placed upon their ability to receive the same treatment as that received by servicemen.

The first restrictions to be eliminated in an effort to improve the lot of servicewomen were the legal ones contained in the Women's Armed Services Integration Act of 1948. This act discriminated against servicewomen in the number which could be in service, the highest rank that they could hold both permanent and temporary, and in the age for mandatory separation. As to numbers, enlisted women could not number more than two per cent of the total enlisted strength of the individual service [Ref. 28]. Officers in the Army and Air Force were limited to two per cent of the total officer size of each individual service, while officers in the Navy and Marine Corps were limited to ten per cent of the enlisted strength of each service [Ref. 28]. The highest permanent grade a woman could hold was O-5, but the Director of the women in each service could be temporarily promoted to O-6 while serving in that position. She would return to

O-5 when she went to another job or left the service [Ref. 28].

On 8 November 1967, President Lyndon B. Johnson signed Public Law 90-130 which eliminated the number and rank ceilings as well as the age differences which had been a part of the Act of 1948 [Ref. 28]. After signing the bill, President Johnson remarked [Ref. 46]:

"There is no reason why we should not some day have a female chief of staff or even a commander in chief."

Although this statement sounds extremely promising for women, it was to be almost three more years before any woman was to even hold flag rank. On 11 June 1970, Colonel Elizabeth P. Hoisington, the Director of the Women's Army Corps, and Colonel Anna Mae Hays, the Chief of the Army Nurse Corps, were promoted to Brigadier General. General William C. Westmoreland, the then Army Chief of Staff, summed up the occasion very appropriately when he said [Ref. 89]:

"Theirs was a long, slow path before receiving just recognition."

Even though Public Law 90-130 had not done away with all the discriminatory practices that existed within the Armed Forces, it was the signal that the movement had been undertaken to improve the life of women within the Services.

F. THE BEGINNINGS OF CHANGE

The following portions of this part of the historical section will review some of the more influential decisions -- which have been made in these few years of the early

Seventies. The introduction of women into ROTC both on the college and high school levels will be covered. The changes in the regulations concerning dependency benefits, dependent children under 18, pregnancy and marriage status will be recounted. Finally, the most recent change to occur, the establishment of the same enlistment age for both men and women, will be covered.

Although Public Law 90-130 pointed the way that society and particularly the Services were to be changing in the future, it was to be the early Seventies in which the changes were to occur at such a pace that regulations hardly had time to be distributed before a change was inserted to them. The changes that have occurred have been the result of the announced policy of equal opportunity for women in the Department of Defense, the need to use women to fill the manpower gap created by the country's shift to the All-Volunteer Force and judicial decisions or the threat of judicial action. Secretary of Defense, James R. Schlesinger, has stated [Ref. 29]:

"I believe that the Department of Defense is firmly committed to the concept of equal opportunity for women in the Service....it will certainly be my policy to eliminate all unnecessary distinction in regulations applying to Servicewomen and to assure that women are accorded both equal opportunity and equal treatment in the military."

1. Entrance Into ROTC and JROTC

The earliest discriminatory practice to fall by the wayside under this new attitude toward women was the exclusion of women from the ROTC ranks except in an honorary or

auxiliary role. Although the Air Force initiated the present program in the fall of 1969 when it opened up its ROTC to women at four universities on a trial basis, women in the ROTC ranks was not a new idea [Ref. 100]. An AFROTC WAF program at ten universities had lasted from September 1956 to July 1960 during which a total of seven women had completed the requirements for commissioning [Ref. 74]. As a result of the lack of interest on behalf of women within the student bodies the Air Force cancelled the program. In the spring of 1970, the Air Force decided to open the program to any of their units that desired to have it [Ref. 100]. As of the cutoff date for this thesis, 1 July 1974, 174 units out of a total of 182 Air Force ROTC units were coed with women making up ten per cent of the total cadet strength. Both the Army and the Navy also started their programs on a trial basis. In the fall of 1972 the Army opened up its units at ten colleges to women, and the Navy opened up units at four colleges [Ref. 100]. As a result of the tremendous success achieved by both of these programs, the remaining units at coed colleges were opened up to women for both the Army and the Navy in the fall of 1973 [Ref. 100]. Now women are enrolled in 273 out of a total of 290 Army units and in 49 out of a total of 56 Navy units [Ref. 100].

The success of the college ROTC programs in opening their ranks to women has been matched by the success of the entrance of girls in the high school JROTC. The Air Force, Army and Navy all opened up their JROTC units to girls in

the fall of 1972 [Refs. 55, 39 and 48]. Two hundred forty-four units out of a total of 275 Air Force JROTC units currently have girls in them [Ref. 47], while girls make up 21 per cent of the total enrollment in the Army JROTC units [Ref. 61].

A coed in the Air Force ROTC program at Ohio State University, Judy Terdan, essentially summed up the feelings of most of the women in these programs when she stated [Ref. 74]:

"I'm no women's libber, but a woman should have her options. She should be able to choose between a career or homemaking."

2. Allowed Dependent Children

The elimination of this particular discriminatory practice was the result of the threat of judicial action rather than of an effort by the Services themselves to correct the situation. Prior to this change women who had custody of children under 18 were automatically discharged. The Air Force instituted the change on 29 September 1970, a day after a woman judge advocate in the Air Force, Captain Tommie Sue Smith, had filed suit against the Air Force for the use of a discriminatory practice in the separation of women with dependent children under 18 [Ref. 3]. In the announcement of its change the Air Force stated that [Ref. 3]:

"....its longstanding regulations were 'not considered to be in consonance with the recent emphasis on women's rights,' or in line with the Defense Department's equal rights policies."

In April 1971 the Army decided to change its regulations concerning women with dependent children under 18 along with its policies on women who became pregnant [Ref. 84]. Rather than simply eliminating the regulation completely, all women in the Army who became pregnant or parents during their tour of duty would have to submit a request for a waiver to remain in the service. The request had to contain a recommendation from the woman's commanding officer, a statement from the woman that the child will not interfere with her duties and that the situation will not result in the neglect of the child.

3. Pregnancy Waiver

The elimination of the discriminatory practice of automatic discharge for servicewomen who became pregnant also came about as a result of the threat of judicial action. Two Air Force unmarried women filed suit against the Air Force in order to prevent the Air Force from discharging them. Captain Susan R. Struck and Airman First Class Gloria D. Robinson both gave birth to children whom they later placed for adoption [Ref. 103]. As the case awaited a hearing before the Supreme Court, the Air Force announced in March 1971 that it had changed its regulations concerning women who became pregnant [Ref. 65]. From this date, women who became pregnant, married or not, could submit a request for a waiver from discharge. The request had to include a statement from medical authorities as to whether or not the pregnancy was expected to be normal. It also had to include

a statement from the woman's commanding officer recommending her retention and stating that "he" was able to do without her while she was absent.

Although the regulations were changed to at least provide for waivers in the cases of servicewomen who became pregnant, the feelings which discriminated against servicewomen still existed. On 19 May 1972 the Air Force issued new policy guidelines for use in this area, and the following clause found in both the officer and enlisted regulations illustrates the attitude with which servicewomen must still contend [Ref. 66]:

"retention of members who become pregnant is not in the best interest of either the member or the Air Force."

The Army again followed the lead of the Air Force in revising its regulations concerning discriminatory policies for which the Air Force had been threatened by judicial action. In April 1971 the Army revised its regulations to allow women who became pregnant to request a waiver from automatic discharge [Ref. 10]. Again the request had to contain certain elements before it could be reviewed.

The Marine Corps has also revised its policies concerning servicewomen who become pregnant or parents during their tour of duty and desire to remain in the Service. A waiver is required in both situations and will be granted by the Commandant's office only when it is determined that the child and the woman's associated responsibilities will not interfere with her military duties, etc. [Ref. 27].

The Navy like the Marine Corps has followed the lead of the Air Force and the Army in the changing of its regulations concerning the discharging of servicewomen who become pregnant. The Navy is currently operating under a revised set of regulations which require the servicewoman to submit a request for a waiver from separation much like that required by the Air Force. The request must include the recommendation of the woman's commanding officer for retention and a report from a medical officer if it is deemed pertinent [Ref. 26].

4. Enlistment and Re-enlistment of Married Women

The Air Force led the way for the Services in allowing the entrance of wives and mothers into the Services without requiring a request for a waiver. In August 1971, the Air Force regulation covering enlistments simply deleted the section barring the enlistment of wives and mothers [Ref. 58].

In 1971 the Army decided to allow wives and also women who had had a previous unwed pregnancy to enlist but only after requesting a waiver for enlistment [Ref. 104]. On 26 March 1973, Brigadier General Mildred C. Bailey, the Director of the WACs, announced that the Army had again changed its regulations in this area, and now wives as well as women who had had an unwed pregnancy prior to enlistment could join without requiring a waiver [Ref. 54].

As of 1 April 1974, the Marine Corps has allowed wives as well as women with dependent children to enlist if

they applied for and received a special waiver [Ref. 57]. The waiver requires the woman to sign a statement stating that she is available for service wherever she is assigned and will agree to make arrangements for child care if the area to which she is assigned does not allow dependents. The limiting factor in this change to previous regulations is that the woman cannot have more than one dependent when she enlists. Therefore, she can have a child or a civilian husband as her one dependent but not both, although she can have a serviceman for a husband and one dependent child.

Currently the Navy places no restriction on women, different from those placed upon men enlisting in the Navy regarding dependency status except that a woman will not be enlisted or re-enlisted if she is pregnant at the time [Ref. 22]. Both women and men enlisting at paygrade E-3 and lower are limited to a maximum of two dependents largely due to economical considerations, although there can be a request made for a waiver of this regulation [Ref. 22].

5. Female Dependency Benefits Decision

On 24 December 1970, First Lieutenant Sharron A. Frontiero, USAF filed a suit against the Air Force charging it with discriminatory practices in military benefits due to sex [Ref. 62]. The husband of Lieutenant Frontiero was a full-time student, and the couple existed on the wife's military pay plus \$205 a month in veterans' benefits [Ref. 62]. Her husband was not entitled to medical benefits that are given to wives of servicemen. She could not draw an allowance

for off base housing which male married officers can. Her husband could only be recognized as a dependent if he was physically or mentally incapable of supporting himself and relied upon his wife for more than half of his total support [Ref. 62]. This particular case pointed out with extreme clarity the double standard which had existed within the military services. The case was not to be finally resolved until 14 May 1973, almost two and a half years later, by the Supreme Court [Ref. 95]. The immediate outcome of this decision was payment of quarters allowance to servicewomen with civilian husbands and medical and dental entitlements to their husbands [Ref. 99]. Later servicewomen with civilian husbands received travel benefits as an outgrowth of this decision [Ref. 98]. Finally, the Comptroller General ruled that married servicewomen were entitled to all benefits normally received by married servicemen as a result of the study done on the possible ramifications from the Supreme Court decision [Ref. 80]. This one case, in essence, totally eliminated a large area of servicewomen's discontent and illustrated the effectiveness of the judicial process in bringing about the elimination of discriminatory practices within the Armed Forces.

6. Same Enlistment Age

On 24 May 1974, President Richard M. Nixon signed Public Law 93-290 which amended Title 10 of the United States Code so that the enlistment age for women was the same as -- that-for men [Ref. 77]. Now both men and women can enlist

with parental consent at 17 and without consent at 18. Previously, women could not enlist until 18 and required parental consent until age 21.. This law was the result of legislation introduced to Congress by the Department of Defense as was Public Law 90-130 of 1967.

The elimination of the discriminatory practices which barred the entrance of women into ROTC units; forced them out of the military if they became pregnant or had children under 18; barred the enlistment of married women, mothers or women who had had unwed pregnancies; prevented them from receiving full dependency benefits and enlisting at the same age as men illustrate the inequalities under which servicewomen have had to work since they first became a permanent part of the Armed Forces. As the major title of this section of the thesis states, these are only the beginnings of changes that must be made before women can exist and work on an equal level with men in the Services. The remainder of this thesis will deal with the restrictions which currently exist that continue to prohibit the full utilization of women by the Armed Forces. After enumerating these restrictions, possible means for their elimination will be offered for consideration in the continuing search for methods of achieving the illusive goal of equality for all servicewomen.

III. EXAMINATION OF EXISTING RESTRICTIONS

This section of the thesis will provide an examination of the three areas of the existing sociological/psychological, legal and service restrictions to the full utilization of servicewomen. The sociological/psychological restrictions will be shown to provide the greatest barrier to the equality of women in that they affect the attitude of both women and men as to the proper sex-role for women.

"Women not only have a tougher job getting into military service but once accepted face fewer job options and benefits than males....

"Many of the past discriminations have been wiped out through the efforts of Congress, the courts and women's groups....

"But 'significant barriers' remain to hamper the entry of women into military service and to restrict their assignment and promotion.

"Since the military is not considered 'traditionally suitable for women, I am certain that young women receive much less information and encouragement from home and school concerning a career in the military service than young men.' "

This is essentially a summary of the testimony given by Lieutenant Colonel Jacqueline G. Gutwilling, a retired member of the WACs, in a hearing of the Joint Economic Committee of Congress in August of 1973 [Ref. 68]. Since the only major discriminatory practice that has been eliminated since her testimony is the equalizing of the enlistment ages by Public Law 93-290 in May of 1974, the opinions presented by this retired officer may still describe the present situation. Her testimony serves as a warning to the Department

of Defense and the Armed Forces that all of the inequalities faced by servicewomen have not been eliminated.

A. SOCIOLOGICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS PERPETUATING RESTRICTIVE ATTITUDES

This part of the thesis will deal with the particular factors which affect the attitudes of both women and men as a result of sociological and psychological conditioning. This part will be further broken down into an analysis of the dominance of the sex-role assigned to women, the conflict situations that occur within women, the fear of success conflict in women and the attitudes and beliefs that discriminate against women.

Of the three areas of existing restrictions to the full utilization of servicewomen, the sociological and psychological restrictions will be the ones which will present the greatest difficulty in eliminating them, more so than the legal and service restrictions. The following statements demonstrate how this area of restrictions even has a great effect on the legal and service restrictions. Congress will not pass bills to eliminate legal barriers unless the majority of the American people favor their elimination. The Services may not remove their barriers unless they feel compelled to change by the attitude of society, or the courts rule against the service practices that are discriminatory. Thus this category has a profound impact on the other two areas of discrimination simply as a result of the attitude of society as a whole and that of the individuals involved.

Colonel (now Major General) Jeanne M. Holm, the then Director of the WAF, summed up the situation in Ref. 88 when she stated:

" 'in the past 21 years, military women have generally fallen into the same patterns of employment that prevail in the private sector....that is, a concentration in the jobs traditionally classified as "women's work" and in the lower skill grade levels. To date, top level management and executive positions are, for all practical purposes, closed to military women except those directly involved with women's program.'

"....part of the problem is that women themselves must 'recognize and overcome their own prejudices. To overcome them will require a major redirection in the way we train our young.

" 'It's high time we stop telling children that girls don't have the aptitudes for mathematics, engineering, science, etc: besides, "it's unlady-like."....Most girls,...., are still raised with a romantic image of life - school, marriage, family - and they lived happily ever after. But Cinderella is dead.' "

1. Sex-Role Dominance

This section of the thesis will examine the importance of the domination of the attitudes possessed by women and men alike by the traditional sex-role. The results of several studies will be reviewed which indicate that the traditional sex-role assigned to women affects their parental training and education, their higher education and the vocations available to them.

"Feelings, moods, and attitude....rule a woman, not facts, reason, nor logic.

"By herself woman is all mixed-up but superb as an auxiliary (Genesis: helper).

"Woman is inanimate or on the defensive until you create a feeling such as praise. Then she goes all out.

"Never scold or explain when she is angry, remember she is feeling not thinking....

"Stop bossing; just manipulate her in her feelings....

"The acquisition of knowledge or responsibilities does not lessen women's need for support, guidance, and control. Quite the contrary.

"Why ask women when they only need to be told? Why ask women when they hope to be taken?"

This quote from G.C. Payetter found in Ref. 81 presents a synopsis of some of the attitudes of society concerning the proper sex-roles that women in the United States are expected to conform to throughout their lives. The particular sex-role that the individual female child will conform to is primarily learned as she grows. Generally this education is received from the child's parents, particularly from the child's father [Ref. 53].

This development of the sex-role in the child by the parents is demonstrated in Ref. 64 by Jane Prather. She presents several studies which demonstrate the gradual but effective education which girls receive to mold them into their acceptable sex-role. Goldberg and Lewis in 1969 found that even as infants, girls were touched and spoken to more often than boys. Komarovsky in 1946 and 1950 and Sears, Mac-coby and Levine in 1957 found that the parents punished boys for displays of fear while girls were encouraged to avoid aggression and independence. Kagan in two studies in 1964 found that even toys emphasized the beauty and servant roles for girls. In one of these studies, Kagan also found that

fathers strongly objected to their sons selecting girls' toys for play. Finally, Aberle and Naegele found in 1952 that half of the fathers in their study rejected the idea of a career for their daughters.

Other studies have obtained results that seem to indicate that the sex of children also affected later family planning. Sears, Maccoby and Levine in 1957 found that mothers of daughters only were happier over a new pregnancy than were mothers with sons; and Pohlman found in 1969 that the interval between the birth of the first child and the conception of the second child is shorter if the first child was a girl and the likelihood of a third child is higher for those whose first two children were both girls [Ref. 12]. Thus girls have demonstrated to them by their own parents the second class status that has been placed upon women by our society.

John W. Macy, Jr., the then Chairman of the United States Civil Service Commission, spoke of the influence of the parental attitude which carried over into the area of formal education for girls in Ref. 53:

"....there is a dropout problem that has received far too little attention: the after-high-school dropout of girls. Relatively more girls than boys finish high school, and with relatively more than their share of honors. But from there on the balance is reversed....

"This educational dropout is due largely to lack of motivation, but a negative attitude on the part of parents toward college for their daughters is an influential factor....

"For some time now....the socialization and education of girls has been preparing most of them for a world that has, in the United States and many other countries, ceased to exist. Many of the adults who significantly influence girls and boys -- are inadvertently encouraging girls, and the boys they will marry, to ignore the facts of women's lives in the world of today and tomorrow."

Not only does the traditional sex-role of women as determined by society influence the education and training women receive from their parents and strongly affect their participation in advanced formal education, but it also confronts women in the labor market in the opportunities and vocations which are made available to them. Women are often blocked from advancement by a lack of formal training and thus cannot contest their situation. At the same time, their lack of formal education is a result of parents not feeling that it is important for a girl to have higher formal training, the schools setting quotas which prevent all but a few select women from getting in, or the company does not feel that it is worth the investment to send a woman to additional training. All of these factors work together to impress upon women that the sex-role that society has assigned to them does not accept them in a role other than wife and mother.

Jane Prather in Ref. 64 points out that even the definition of work as defined by society in the United States perpetuates the sex-role of women:

"....Because the commonsense definition of work is performing a task for which one is rewarded monetarily, only men typically can be considered to be working....By implying that only men work, American

society attributes higher status to men. Needless to say, the commonsense definition of work discriminates against women in the labor force because it upholds the belief that women are not interested in earning a living or in establishing their economic independence. Moreover, the definition of work promotes the myths that women in the labor force are not to be regarded as contenders for promotions, advancements, or higher wages. Because of the widespread acceptance of the notion that only men work, another myth emerges that it is morally wrong for women - particularly married women or mothers - to work."

The sex-role of women as dictated by society is thus an extremely powerful restriction which is manifested in the attitude of individuals as a result of psychological and sociological pressures. As can be seen in the examination of this first attitude restriction much time and effort will have to be devoted to the re-education process which will be required to overcome this obstacle to the further utilization of women by the military.

2. Conflict Situations

This part of the thesis will examine the various conflicts that occur in women as a result of their traditional sex-role, especially if they decide to seek fulfillment through a career as an addition or instead of their role as wife and mother. The conflicts that arise are the adult versus woman conflict, the young versus the older generation conflict, and the career versus the home/family conflict. A review of these three conflicts will aid in the understanding of the restrictions in the attitudes of women themselves when they consider a military career.

Women of today who are at the decision point of choosing and training for a career, especially those thinking of a career in the Services, are subjected to attitude prejudice which tends to create conflict situations within the women themselves. The first of these conflict situations is produced in women particularly if they attempt to follow the sex-role that society has developed for them. This conflict can be referred to as the conflict between the role of a woman and the role of an adult. It was found in a study done by Broverman, Broverman, Clarkson, Rosenkrantz and Vogel in 1970 when they asked a group of social workers, psychologists and psychiatrists to describe the mental health of men, women and adults in general. Their finding as reported in Ref. 31 states:

"....Their descriptions of a 'healthy man' were quite similar to that of a 'healthy adult.' This was not the case when describing a 'healthy woman,' however, who was depicted as being less healthy than the 'healthy adult.' Both the men and women clinicians agreed to this double standard, whereby healthy women were said to differ from healthy men by being more easily influenced, less aggressive, less competitive, and more excitable in a minor crisis."

A summary of the results of this particular study found in Ref. 12 goes on to state:

"....To the extent that these results reflect societal standards of sex-role behavior, women are clearly put in a double bind by the fact that different standards exist for women than for adults. If women adopt the behaviors specified as desirable for adults, they risk censure for their failure to be appropriately feminine; but if they adopt the behaviors that are designated as feminine, they are necessarily deficient with respect to the general standards for adult behavior."

Young women of today whom the Services are trying to interest in joining the Armed Forces are further placed into a conflict situation by older women, both in and outside of the military establishment. The older generation of women within the Services fear that too much dissention within the ranks of women in the Armed Forces may result in a return to the pre World War II era when women, other than those in the nurse corps, were not a permanent part of the Services. This attitude is expressed in Ref. 26 by Captain Robin L. Quigley, the then Assistant Chief of Naval Personnel for Women, who, although she was speaking specifically about the WAVES, could have been summing up the situation for all servicewomen:

"Right now the Navy could get along very nicely without its women, with the absolute exception of... the Navy Nurse Corps. I think that is perhaps the biggest challenge facing Navy women today...if the Navy could go on without us; and if the men with whom we're having trouble rapping come back constantly and say, 'What are you doing here, do we need you right now?' well, no, maybe (they) don't need us right now."

Coupled with this fear of elimination from the military establishment is another fear which the older women in the Services share with older women outside the military. This fear is a fear of the unknown area of true equality with men. These older women have been so ingrained with the sex-role dictated to them by society that they are somewhat afraid of what change might bring with it. The older women in the Services probably know better than anyone else the penalties which have been placed upon women who have chosen

a career rather than the traditional role that society expects women to fill as a wife and a mother. Thus they may well have cause to fear any attempt to raise the level of women up to that of men. Dr. Shirley D. McCune, the then associate director of the American Association of University Women, expressed this fear of the changes that are taking place and are being pushed for in Ref. 33:

"For the 30-to-60-year-old woman the idea of liberation is very threatening. She's been in shackles all her life and now girls 20 years younger than her and much prettier are telling her to run.

"Her whole sense of identity is deeply threatened by the freedom the new woman enjoys because it's a rejection of everything she stands for. No matter how bright or educated she may be, she's been conditioned in such a way she's never had the chance to find out who she really is or what she could become.

"And the point is she doesn't want to find out."

In addition to the conflict situations already mentioned, the one which plagues those women who decide to pursue a career the most is the conflict between the career and having a family if she does not already have one or of maintaining a family and especially performing the mother role if she does have a family. This particular conflict situation has been the subject of a great deal of research, especially since the end of World War II when more and more women began joining the labor force. In 1970 Farmer and Bohn reported the results of their study which indicated that the level of vocational interest in women whether they were married or single would go up if the career versus home conflict were just reduced [Ref. 32]. In 1960 Herzog found

that although the children whose mothers worked were not deprived as a result, the mothers still felt a sense of guilt when they left their children and homes for a career [Ref. 94]. Alice S. Rossi in Ref. 70 reviewed the causes that have hindered women from becoming equal with men, and she specifically examines the studies which have been done on the relationship of the working and non-working mother on the behavior of her children which Rossi summed up as:

"....the American woman has been encouraged by the experts to whom she has turned for guidance in child-rearing to believe that her children need her continuous presence, supervision and care and that she should find complete fulfillment in this role.... the woman is left with a judgment that wanting more than motherhood is not natural but a reflection of her individual emotional disturbance.

"The fundamental tenet of the theory underlying such advice is that the physically and emotionally healthy development of the infant requires the loving involvement of the mother with the child. If an infant does not receive stable continuous mothering there is almost invariably severe physical and emotional disturbance.

"....To date, there is no evidence of any negative effects traceable to maternal employment; children of working mothers are no more likely than children of non-working mothers to become delinquent, to show neurotic symptoms, to feel deprived of maternal affection, to perform poorly in school, to lead narrower social lives, etc....the only significant difference found between working and non-working mothers was the mother's confidence about her role as mother:....The working mothers appeared to share the prevailing view that their children would suffer as a result of their employment, though in fact their children fare as well as those of non-working mothers."

This last conflict situation of career versus the home/family is extremely important to the Services as a result of the recent decisions and changes to regulations which now permit the enlistment of wives and mothers. As

can be seen from the quote by Rossi, the attitude that wives and mothers perceive that society has toward their involvement in the labor force is essentially the crux of the entire conflict. If these women do not feel that it is the prevailing attitude within the Armed Forces that their place is in the home at all times then the conflict will probably not arise to plague them.

These conflict situations of adult versus woman, young versus older generation, and career versus family/home have been examined to demonstrate the internal stresses that the servicewomen of today have to face. The next section of this thesis will deal with another conflict situation that women have to confront, and that is the fear of success. The author feels that this particular situation should be handled separately due to its profound influence on the attitude of society as to the abilities and performance capabilities of women. As the Armed Forces claim to be more interested in getting the people who can handle the jobs and tasks assigned more than in the sex of the person doing the job, this situation should be of keen interest to them in their efforts toward a full utilization of servicewomen.

3. Fear Of Success

"....Among women, the anticipation of success especially against a male competitor poses a threat to the sense of femininity and self-esteem and serves as a potential basis for becoming socially rejected - in other words, the anticipation of success is anxiety provoking and as such inhibits otherwise positive achievement-directed motivation and behavior. In order to feel or appear more feminine, women, especially those high in fear of success, disguise their

abilities and withdraw from the mainstream of thought, activism, and achievement in our society. This does not occur, however, without a high price, a price paid by the individual in negative emotional and interpersonal consequences and by the society in a loss of valuable human and economic resources."

This quote is contained in the results of a study done by Matina S. Horner from 1964 to 1971 on achievement-related conflicts in women [Ref. 42]. In 1971 Prescott found the fear of success for females in his sample to be 88.2 per cent, and in 1972 Horner found the fear of success to be 9.1 per cent for the males and 65.5 per cent for the women in her new study [Ref. 8]. As can be seen in the results of these studies, this particular conflict situation is felt by a majority of today's women as a result of the societal beliefs that a woman cannot be both a companion and a competitor to a man, and that a woman should not develop competitive qualities. The quote points out the fact that the atmosphere of the situation into which women are placed will significantly influence the woman's reaction. It is in her competition against males with the required submission to male superiority that she is called upon to perform by society versus her desire to advance in which the conflict arises. It will only be through a revaluation of the proper qualities to be possessed by women as dictated by society before this conflict situation can be eliminated. This particular factor in the behavior of women should be thoroughly investigated by the military, especially in light of the changes being made which place servicewomen in outright competition with servicemen for rank and promotion.

Studies done in this fear of success conflict produced in women have found that the feelings and attitudes of husbands and boyfriends toward the movement of women into the labor force have greatly affected the fear of success developed in a woman. Elizabeth Janeway in 1970 reported the results of a study that she conducted indicating that women who work did so with their husband's consent, and even if the women desired to work, they did not do so if their husbands did not give their consent [Ref. 45]. Horner in her study that ended in 1971 also found that the attitude of the male peers as to the proper role for women significantly affected the fear of success within a woman [Ref. 42]. To sum up these findings, the fear of success conflict situation within women is the result of a desire on the part of the woman to be a companion of man rather than a competitor against man, since the traditional sex-role as defined by society dictates to men and women alike that the two, companion and competitor, can never exist together.

4. Attitudes And Beliefs

The final group of sociological and psychological factors which affect attitude restrictions that prevent the full utilization of women by the Armed Forces will be the attitudes and beliefs held by society toward working women. This section deals with the key issue on which all of the restrictions on servicewomen hinge. As stated in this thesis previously, the legal and service restrictions are the result of the sociological and psychological factors which

determine the roles of women in society, so the attitudes and beliefs which are maintained and perpetuated by society as a whole represent the final stronghold of the sex-role domination over women in the society of the United States.

"The other factor that highly influenced managers in their negative perception of women at work was women's perceived lack of dependability. Managers in this sample felt that women were not as dependable as men because of women's biological and personal characteristics. Despite the pervasiveness of the managers' belief in the lack of dependability of women, research has indicated that sex bears less of a relationship to measures of dependability than age, level, and length of time on the job."

This quote is from the results of a study done by Bass, Krusell and Alexander in 1971 which revealed the prejudices of male superiors to working women [Ref. 9]. The forenamed factor of the perceived undependability of working women, and their feelings about female supervisors (which will be dealt with in another part of this section) were the main reasons these men had against working women. The last part of this quote points out the fact that the real difference in the dependability of men and women is insignificant. A Public Health Service survey taken for 1967 determined that the work time lost due to injury or illness averaged 5.6 days for women compared to 5.3 days for men, and the difference in labor turnover rate was small and getting smaller [Ref. 73]. These results were further verified by the Women's Bureau in 1969 in one of its publications which pointed out that the turnover and absenteeism rate of men and women of similar length of service and job level were of very little

difference from each other [Ref. 31]. The myths of other important differences between women and men which are used to restrict the careers of women are further dispelled by Goodwin Watson in Ref. 94:

"Biologically, it is evident that males are the weaker not the stronger sex. About 135 males are conceived for every 100 females, but miscarriages and still-births are more common among male babies, leaving a ratio of 106 to 100 at birth. One study of infant mortality in the first four months after birth showed 72 percent of the deaths to be males. Life expectancy at every age is greater for the female....Hemophilia is found only in males. Specific disorders like color-blindness, stuttering, epilepsy, ulcers, and gout are more common in males than in females. Probabilities of a heart attack in the age period between 30 and 62 are ten to one for men as compared with women....males are more prone to school misbehavior, incorrigibility, juvenile delinquency, alcoholism, drug addiction, serious crime, and suicide.

"....there is no real difference in intellectual level....The larger proportion of males in most courses in mathematics and engineering is today attributed largely to cultural factors; it is believed that, given comparable incentives, females could do about as well as males in any kind of mental work....

"Personality differences, like the biological, show fairly consistent superiority for the female. More boys than girls turn out to be behavior problems and truants at school. More boys than girls are referred to child-guidance clinics. Under-achievement is twice as characteristic of gifted boys as of gifted girls."

As can be seen by the quotes and the results presented in the previous paragraphs, the evidence is clearly against the myths that are commonly held by the majority of men and women in the society of the United States today. Another ability is the subject of several myths about women; that is the ability of women to be managers/supervisors.

Referring back to the study done by Bass, Krusell and Alexander, managerial ability is questioned due to myths as perpetuated by society [Ref. 9]:

"....Managers did not feel that women would make good supervisors....the managers indicated that they felt that other men and women would prefer having male supervisors and that they themselves would be uncomfortable with a woman supervisor. The problem seems to be that societal norms do not sanction the placement of women in dominate positions."

The result of this study revealing a lack of confidence in the managerial ability of women is substantiated by a study done by Day and Stogdill in 1969. This study revealed that male and female supervisors were evaluated as similar in leader behavior and effectiveness by their immediate subordinates. It was also found that the average female supervisor was five years older, had fewer children and had attended about two more training programs than her average male peer. The most important finding was that the females were not evaluated on effectiveness and influence which the men were evaluated on, but instead their advancement which was considerably slower was simply a function of their being females [Ref. 19]. This study also points out the fallacy under which managers are operating if they feel that women cannot supervise men and/or women as effectively as men can. The results indicated that the subordinates felt that these male and female supervisors were similar in leader behavior and effectiveness. This fallacy of the lack of managerial ability in women is also pointed out by the experience of Southern Bell Telephone Company as stated in Ref. 71:

"....They have found that women can successfully supervise male employees, can 'earn their stripes' through job loyalty and application, can handle data processing or engineering or other 'male' technical jobs - and are sometimes better at it than most men."

Finally, motives and drives which women have may restrict their lives to the traditional sex-role. A study done by French and Lesser in the early Sixties found that although the work motive and success at his job were the primary goals for the majority of men, the motives possessed by women were not that specific [Ref. 35]. Women were essentially grouped into three classes: those who had motives which were fulfilled by the traditional sex-role; those for whom the primary goals were similar to those for men, with success in a job as the most important; and finally, those for whom the traditional sex-role and the desire for a successful career held equal weight. In 1966 Burke and, again in 1969, Saleh and Lalljee, found that the sex difference in job orientation was insignificant [Ref. 72]. These results clearly dispute the myth that men are more intrinsically-oriented and that women are more concerned with the environment of the job. Elizabeth Janeway summed the results of a study which she did on the reasons and motives women have for working in Ref. 45 when she stated:

"....for many women the ability to make a living as an individual is becoming as important psychologically, and in the same way, as it is for men. A job is 'meaningful' because it measures one's ability in terms that can be judged publicly and equally with others - it's worth money, and money here isn't merely money, it's a standard of ability which has nothing to do with femininity but only with human capability. This doesn't just bolster the ego. It allows a woman

to know that she can meet the world and satisfy its demands without dragging in feminine wiles or appealing to it as a special case."

This same conclusion was reached by others who have made a study of this myth of the lack of real motivation for a career outside of the home. Thus after a review of these selected attitudes and beliefs which are a source of attitude restrictions preventing the full utilization of women by the Services, it can be observed that the myths which are currently accepted as fact are instead totally lacking in that attribute - fact. The studies to date, 1 July 1974, have shown that the abilities of women are on a par with men, except perhaps in those technical areas which society has excluded women from, but which they could achieve parity in if given a chance. These same studies have indicated that women do possess the needed managerial ability for supervisory and management positions, and in some cases as a result of their slow advancement rate in the past are far more qualified for the higher positions. The results have also pointed out the fallacy in the idea that all women enter a job for no other reason than to find a husband, because they had to go to work, or because they wanted to simply use up some of the spare time in their lives.

This section of the thesis has been presented to demonstrate the importance of particular attitudes when trying to correct the inequalities which women of today have to face. Changes in this area will have a profound influence on the elimination of the other barriers to the utilization

of women. Virginia Ellen Schein in Ref. 73 has summed up the requirements when the decision is made to embark upon a path which the Services have decided to undertake - the full utilization of servicewomen:

"....the achievement of the goal of increasing the number of women in the managerial work force requires more than simply reducing the obvious barriers. It requires an understanding of the different values and ideas to which men and women have been exposed: a consideration of the ways in which necessary job characteristics and attitudes can be taught to women; an understanding of the conflicts experienced by women operating in a male dominated field; and a consideration of methods by which an organization can alter aspects of its culture so that skilled women can perform effectively within it."

B. LEGAL

This category refers to those laws which have been passed by Congress and made a part of the United States' legal statutes. As such, only another law repealing the original law can remove this form of restriction. With the signing of Public Law 93-290, the only legal barriers remaining are those contained in Title 10 of the United States Code pertaining to combat, promotion lists, and entrance to the service academies; plus, a few other miscellaneous laws.

1. Combat Restrictions

The Navy and the Marine Corps are prohibited from placing women in combatant aircraft and on ships other than transports and hospital ships (currently only the hospital ship, USS SANCTUARY, fits this category) by Section 6015 of Title 10 of the United States Code which states [Ref. 87]:

"The Secretary of the Navy may prescribe the manner in which women officers...., women warrant officers, and enlisted women members of the Regular Navy and the Regular Marine Corps shall be trained and qualified for military duty. The Secretary may prescribe the kind of military duty to which such women members may be assigned and the military authority which they may exercise. However, women may not be assigned to duty in aircraft that are engaged in combat missions nor may they be assigned to duty on vessels of the Navy other than hospital ships and transports."

The Air Force is also prohibited from using women in combatant aircraft by Section 8549 of Title 10 of the United States Code which states [Ref. 87]:

"Female members of the Air Force...., may not be assigned to duty in aircraft engaged in combat missions."

These are the only legal barriers to the employment of women in combat, and as can be seen from these quotes, there is nothing stated in them concerning the utilization of women in land warfare for either the Marine Corps or the Army. These sections make no mention of restricting the Air Force from employing women in missile silos. As can be seen from this examination of the pertinent sections of Title 10 of the United States Code regarding the employment of women in combat situations, women are only restricted by law from duty in combatant aircraft of the Navy, Marine Corps and the Air Force and from Navy combatant ships. The other barriers placed against the employment of women in combat situations are therefore the result of regulations that are drafted by the individual Services themselves.

2. Other Restrictions

As was pointed out previously, there are some additional statutes contained in Title 10 of the United States Code as well as in other laws which will require changing if women are to ever be truly equal with men as far as the laws of the nation are concerned. The author feels as though the most important of these miscellaneous laws are the sections in Title 10 establishing the individual service academies. Although not specifically stating that women will not be admitted, they do contain the terms "his," "he," and "sons" that some have interpreted as prohibiting the entrance of women.

Title 10 of the United States Code also contains sections which require the establishment and maintainment of separate promotion lists for women and male officers in the Navy, Marine Corps and the Army. This is one area in which the statute itself presents a contradiction as the women in the Air Force, officer and enlisted alike, compete on the same list with men in the Air Force for all promotions [Ref. 76].

This relatively short discussion of the existing legal barriers to a full utilization of servicewomen by the Armed Forces again points out the fact that the real limitations to the utilization of women are the attitudes and beliefs that society has perpetuated concerning the proper role and occupations for women. All of these legal restrictions can be removed by the mere passage of new statutes to

replace the present ones. The only requirement is for a majority of Congress to agree that this is the appropriate action to take.

C. SERVICE

This section of this thesis deals with the existing regulations which the Services themselves have promulgated which discriminate against women, and therefore prohibit their full utilization. As it was stated earlier in this thesis, the service restrictions fall essentially into two groups, enlistment requirements and combat prohibitions.

The following practices, although not practiced by each of the individual Services, do illustrate the general trend in the extra requirements that women must face when they try to enlist in the Armed Forces. Women enlisting must have a high school diploma or a GED equivalent whereas men are not required to meet this standard. The test scores on the battery of tests new recruits receive must be higher for women than for men. Women are generally given an academic achievement test rather than the technical aptitude test a male receives. Finally, some require letters of recommendation from any former employers and others to determine moral character, attitude and performance. All of these methods are used by the Services as a selection process to obtain the best applicants that they possibly can. As the present Director of the WAC, Brigadier General Mildred C. Bailey, stated in Ref. 43:

"It's a matter of supply and demand. There are more women than men seeking to enlist, and even under these standards, we're getting all the qualified women we can handle."

This quote by General Baily accompanied an announcement by the Army that it was raising the standards required of women desiring to enlist higher than those required for men. Essentially where women are concerned, the Services enjoy the luxury of the position that they enjoyed under the draft era for men - the ability to pick and choose pretty much at will. In Ref. 30, the Army gives as its reasons for slowing down the rate of enlistments for women as stemming from uniform problems and the lack of experienced WAC non-commissioned officers.

Restrictions on using servicewomen in combat positions have also been established by the Services themselves. Although not prohibited by law, the Army has prohibited the entrance of enlisted WACs into 39 of its MOSs which are combat related [Ref. 21]. On 1 July 1974 when all WAC officers received assignments to one of the career branches of the Army, (Engineer, Finance, Military Intelligence, Military Police, Ordnance, Quartermaster, Signal, Transportation, Adjutant General, Infantry, Armor, Field Artillery, and Air Defense Artillery), four, (Infantry, Armor, Field Artillery and Air Defense Artillery), of the total 13 were closed for being combat related [Ref. 86]. The Air Force, unlike the Navy, trains all of its pilots for combat duty, and thus has not allowed women in any of its aircraft as pilots or other members of the air crew except as nurses and as a form of

stewardess. The Air Force has also seen fit to keep women out of its missile silo crews as these are combat related skills, even though the law does not prohibit this use of servicewomen. The Marine Corps has decided that women should not engage in land combat as the Army did, but rather than express it as a separate regulation, the Marine Corps feels that it can be included with the barriers placed upon their use of women in Section 6015 of Title 10 of the United States Code [Ref. 18]. As can be seen from this examination of the service prohibitions to the use of servicewomen in combat positions, the majority of the combat restrictions are not laws passed by Congress, but are rather the decisions of the leaders of the individual Services by whose wishes these regulations are maintained.

This section finishes the review of the restrictions to the full utilization of women by the Armed Forces. The simple length of the first section in this part of the thesis clearly demonstrates that attitude alone is the central issue in the majority of the barriers. Even the barriers that still exist in the other two categories of legal and service restrictions can be eliminated by a simple change in the attitude of society as to the acceptable role of women in the world of today. The next section of this thesis will deal with some possible ways of bringing about the elimination of these barriers. The overriding factor in all of the solutions proposed will be the need to change the existing concepts of society concerning the proper role of women. These

changes will have to occur via judicial, Congressional and educational processes.

IV. POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

"When you really stop to think about the state to which our society has developed, there is no reason in theory, sociology, or equity why women should not have every opportunity the men have. I believe any man or woman should be permitted to serve his country in any capacity that he or she, as an individual, views as appropriate."

These words by the then Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Elmo R. Zumwalt, sum up the thoughts of many people today, both in the civilian and the military communities [Ref. 75]. The following section of this thesis will examine some possible solutions that can be employed in the elimination of the existing restrictions to the full utilization of servicewomen by the Armed Forces. The ones which will be examined can be basically grouped into four divisions: the Equal Rights Amendment; judicial action; Congressional action; and finally, action by the Services themselves. A few of these solutions will require a period of years, or even the passage of another generation, before their force can be felt.

A. THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

As mentioned earlier in this thesis, 1975 will be the earliest that this particular piece of Congressional action could possibly be ratified by the required number of states. With the additional two years after ratification before the Amendment will go into effect, it will at least be 1977 before any changes could take place as a result of this legislation. Thus, this Amendment can only be considered as a

long range solution to the barriers to equality among the sexes not only in the military but in society as a whole as well. Still, this one Amendment, if ratified, could possibly eliminate all of the legal and service restrictions simply by making their existence illegal. Even if the Amendment is ratified and these barriers are illegal/unconstitutional there remains the possibility that court decisions may have to be handed down before the restrictions are finally removed. At the present time, 1 July 1974, it could be argued that equality of the sexes is already guaranteed by the Constitution in the form of the Fifth and the Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution which state [Ref. 83]:

"No person shall....be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law;...."

"All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

Other laws against sex discrimination that are currently on the books are the Equal Pay Act of 1963 and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964; there is also the amended Executive Order 11246 [Ref. 50]. Although these statutes have been on the books for a decade as of the writing of this thesis it is common knowledge that the pay for women and men doing the same job is not equal in a great majority of today's

occupations [Refs. 90 and 36]. The Supreme Court has also so far declined to decide that sex discrimination is unconstitutional under the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments. Even though the Frontiero case previously mentioned in this thesis was won against a policy involving sex discrimination, (the suit was made under the Equal Protection Clause of the Fifth Amendment), a majority of the judges failed to rule that sex discrimination was "as unconstitutional" as racial discrimination. The main reason for this was largely due to the pending ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. As Associate Justice Lewis F. Powell, Jr. stated in Ref. 95:

"Democratic institutions are weakened and confidence in the restraint of the Court is impaired when we appear unnecessarily to decide sensitive issues of broad social and political importance at the very time they are under consideration within the prescribed constitutional processes."

B. COURT DECISIONS

"The Supreme Court,..., will probably continue to be presented cases involving discrimination because of...., sex,....This, no doubt, will continue for some years, notwithstanding laws to the contrary...., much earlier legislation, conscientiously enacted and enforced, but more significantly "accepted," would have made the equal rights amendment entirely unnecessary. Hopefully, the intent will not be misread and equality will become a simple, basic reality for the benefit of all."

Colonel Barbara L. Metz, USAF made the above comment [Ref. 56], which sums up the point of the previous section concerning the Equal Rights Amendment. As has been shown in an earlier section dealing with the restrictions the Services themselves have placed upon servicewomen, a majority of the recent eliminations in discriminatory regulations have

been a direct result of judicial decisions or the threat of judicial intervention. Thus the courts do offer a possible solution to the elimination of discriminatory practices in laws and regulations. Here, as in the case of the probable ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, the solution must be again termed a long term one. For example, the Frontiero case was finally decided by the Supreme Court only after the lower courts had made their rulings which could then be appealed to the Supreme Court who then decided if they would even hear the case. Meanwhile as in this case, a great deal of time, effort and money has been consumed and a period of approximately two and a half years has passed which cannot be considered an unrealistic duration for the proceedings to consume. A real fear in the minds of the proponents of the Equal Rights Amendment is that after it is ratified, if it is, they will still have to endure a period of court cases before the changes required by its addition to the laws will occur.

As of 1 July 1974, there is only one court case pending involving the Services. The case is a combination of two class action suits, one filed against the Air Force Academy by a California girl and two California Congressmen, and the other is against the Naval Academy filed by another California girl and two other California Congressmen [Ref. 1]. With the case only at the Federal District Court level, there is a real possibility that it will be some time yet before it is argued before the Supreme Court -- if it ever is.

C. LEGISLATION

"In view of the changing facts on the role of women it is ridiculous, wasteful and anachronistic to maintain that the best officer training our nation has to offer should be limited to men only."

With this comment Representative Pierre S. duPont of Delaware introduced H.R. 10705 which would change the existing sections in Title 10 of the United States Code prohibiting the entrance of women into the service academies [Ref. 67]. The Army, Navy and the Air Force are basing their objections on the mission of the service academies which is to train officers for combat duty. This duty is prohibited to women in the Navy and to women pilots in the Marine Corps and the Air Force, if the Air Force ever allows women to train as pilots, by Title 10 of the United States Code. Thus the bill would eliminate the barriers on women in combat. As of the cutoff date for this paper, 1 July 1974, a subcommittee of the House Armed Services Committee is conducting hearings on five separate bills to allow the entrance of women into the service academies. Four of these bills were introduced by Congressman duPont [Ref. 38].

The preceding paragraph illustrates the use of another solution to the elimination of the barriers which prevent a full utilization of servicewomen by the Armed Forces. The legislative process does offer faster solutions in that the laws could be eliminated or changed within a single Congressional session or less. Congressional actions could require several Congressional sessions, and require as much or more calendar time as the two previous methods of the Equal

Rights Amendment and the judicial process. A major reason for the slowdown in legislative action is the rules which govern the legislative process. Should the chairman of a committee examining a bill before it goes to the House as a whole not favor the bill, he can delay its coming before the committee -- sometimes indefinitely -- and present a strong influence against its passage by the committee. The chairman could, therefore, either kill the bill in committee or table the bill and allow it to die of neglect. The Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, F. Edward Hebert of Louisiana, is strongly opposed to the admission of women into the service academies and has delayed as long as possible the opening of hearings on these bills [Ref. 38].

D. THE SERVICES

"Their potential capability is the most important thing the commander needs to know about women. If he goes along with the old myths about women not being psychologically or physically suited for this, that or the other and has taken it as gospel, then he's not going to properly utilize women because he is convinced that they have certain limitations -- which they may or may not have, depending on the individuals, not on the fact that they are women."

This statement by the Women's Army Corps Director, Brigadier General Mildred C. Bailey, essentially sums up the need for a revaluation of the role of women in the Services and a change in the attitudes of the most senior officers [Ref. 91]. Changes in the actions of senior officers would seem to be the quickest way to eliminate discriminatory regulations in the Services. The Department of Defense made an

effort of using this type of solution to the elimination of the barriers to a full utilization of servicewomen when it issued its Human Goals Credo on 18 August 1969 [Ref. 16]. As a result of this program, each of the individual Services has been charged with the responsibility to carry out its concepts within their own individual structures. In 1972, the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Manpower and Reserve Affairs) sent a memorandum to the assistant service secretaries in charge of manpower for each service. The memorandum stated [Ref. 20]:

" '....eliminate all unnecessary distinction in regulations applying to women' and where necessary, recommend changes in the laws to eliminate inequalities."

The Human Goals Plan devised by the Navy as its response to the Department of Defense's Human Goals Credo is an excellent example of the way that the Services need to go about correcting the prevailing attitude held concerning the utilization of servicewomen. Two of the objectives of this plan state [Ref. 23]:

"To heighten among Navy men and women an awareness of the contributions and achievements of individual service-connected women in order to demonstrate the presence of outstanding women, to conduce to a Navy climate of approval for its women members, and to encourage women's recognition of the opportunities for achievement within the Service."

"To conduct educational/informational programs to provide attitudinal training regarding the role of women in the U.S. Navy, and current management thought on the most effective means of utilizing and supervising women personnel."

A solution of the Services themselves removing the barriers which they have created to the full utilization of servicewomen essentially requires the commitment of the senior officers. This is consistent with the other three categories of possible solutions (Equal Rights Amendment, judicial process and Congressional process) in which it has been seen that the prevalent attitude of the people involved greatly influences the maintenance or elimination of these barriers. Even though both the Department of Defense and the individual Services boast of their progress toward full equality of servicewomen, previous examples in this thesis have illustrated that they still have to be forced into changes in many instances.

Pentagon witnesses have testified in the Congressional hearings on the admittance of women to the service academies that is is not cost-effective or would disrupt the discipline that is being instilled [Refs. 59 and 6]. The Air Force and the Navy plan to use the same defense in their pending court case as was used in the Frontiero case, that Congress makes the laws and they should not be changed in the courts. These Services also plan to argue in the case that since women cannot be assigned to combat by law, and the mission of the military academies is to train combat officers, that it would not make sense to admit women to the academies [Refs. 34 and 52]. The Department of Defense had originally planned to eliminate all of the discriminatory laws-against servicewomen as a part of its new officer

career legislation package, but somewhere along the line all applicable parts of the bill pertaining to this effort were removed before the bill even got to Congress. These examples serve to further illustrate the fact that the attitude of those in the places of decision still do not favor equality for women.

In summary, all four of these possible solutions, (Equal Rights Amendment, judicial process, Congressional process, and action by the Services), to the barriers that currently exist to servicewomen in their pursuit of equality greatly depend upon attitude. The Equal Rights Amendment will never be ratified by the required number of states unless a majority of the people in 38 states want equality of opportunity for women. The courts will not be an effective means of correcting discriminatory policies in the laws or in the regulations of the Services unless a majority of the judges favor equality of the sexes and view a policy of sexual discrimination as unjust as racial discrimination. The laws of the United States which discriminate between men and women will remain unchanged unless a majority of the Congressmen favor equality of the sexes not only on the House and the Senate floors but also in the subcommittees and the committees. Finally, the regulations of the Services which promote sexual discrimination will remain in effect so long as outside pressure is not exerted on the military establishment for a change, or the leaders of the individual Services take a stand favoring the full utilization of servicewomen.

Thus the full utilization of servicewomen essentially rests upon the attitude which is held by the majority of society as to the proper role for women in general and servicewomen in particular.

V. WHY FULL UTILIZATION?

Although the Services have committed themselves to the utilization of servicewomen as the principal answer to the manpower gap created by the All-Volunteer Force, there still exist many who feel that this utilization should only be in those areas which women have traditionally filled. Thus a possible hypothesis to be explored in this thesis would be - The talents and capabilities of women are such, and the opportunities for the implementation of these traits exist to the extent, that there should be no barriers to the utilization of servicewomen except those that are inherent within the individual.

Foremost among the advantages in the utilization of servicewomen is the fact that they are and always have been true volunteers unlike their male counterparts. All of the Services are currently able to maintain waiting lists and at the same time are turning away fully qualified women due to the quota systems the Services have established. Yet they are hardpressed to even approach their quotas for less qualified males [Ref. 41]. Another advantage that women have over men as a result of the Services' recruitment procedures is that the women are on the average more intelligent. All women must be in the top three intelligence groupings, while men may enlist from the fourth group.

In addition to these advantages of quantity and quality, women also possess several financial advantages over men.

The two previous advantages of true volunteers and higher intelligence mean a reduction in recruitment and training funds. This reduction is especially significant in light of the Services' changeover to self-paced instruction length in their schools other than basic. In addition to these possible savings, the Air Force conducted a study whose results were reported in Ref. 93 which revealed that the total costs for women were less than those for men. The annual savings for women officers were \$1081 per year per woman and for enlisted women were \$206 per year per woman.

The limitations to the full utilization of servicewomen are not a result of the lack of abilities of the women, but are rather a function of discriminatory barriers which prohibit their full utilization. A good example of this discrimination is the acknowledged superiority of women over men to perform the intricate operations required for the construction of electronic components. Yet this talent is not utilized by the Services in their electronic repair career fields to any great extent. The Navy, for example, as of 30 June 1973 had only a total of 53 women in its electronic ratings, (aviation, general, communications and radar), which was less than one per cent of its total enlisted women complement [Ref. 24]. The rationale given by the Navy for its lack of placing more women into such critically needed ratings is that women are prohibited from serving aboard warships, and the limited billets must be filled at its schools by men who are able to go to sea.

As can be seen from the information contained in the previous paragraphs, women possess advantages over men in quantity, quality and financial considerations. These would tend to prove the hypothesis that women possess traits which should be fully utilized by the Armed Forces without any barriers placed upon them. The opportunity for greater use of women in the electronics repair fields serves as a specific instance of the additional areas which would benefit from the increased utilization of women by the Services. Thus the hypothesis holds true for the availability of opportunities which could make excellent use of the capabilities that are possessed by servicewomen.

The remaining area that must be considered before this hypothesis can be accepted is the question of whether or not the disadvantages in the full utilization of women outweigh the advantages. The principal disadvantages or problem areas that must be examined essentially can be broken down into two categories: sleeping and bathroom facilities are one and the use of women in combat especially in a battlefield environment is the other.

One of the major contributions of the proposed Equal Rights Amendment, even if it should perhaps not be ratified, is the number of studies and pilot programs that its possible ratification has instituted. Although the Air Force opposes the entrance of women into its academy, a study has already been made to determine the needed changes should women be allowed entrance whether or not the Equal Rights

Amendment is ratified. From the results of this study a contingency plan has been drawn up to respond to these needs [Ref. 2].

The Navy currently has a number of pilot programs going on, the most well-known of which is its female officer and enlisted crewmembers onboard the USS SANCTUARY. One study that resulted from this project was done by Joseph E. Castle and Laurel A. Lewonowski on the habitability design considerations required for female personnel aboard ships [Ref. 15]. This particular study examined the problems of berthing and sanitary facilities in light of the special requirements caused by a two-sex crew and found them to be the hardest to satisfactorily resolve. At the same time, they pointed out the fact that some solutions have already been provided by private industry such as the typical sanitary facilities found on commercial aircraft and the combination shower and sanitary facilities found in recreational vehicles. The berthing problem could be essentially eliminated by the segregation of berthing spaces. This solution will be even more simplified by the new designs for Navy ships that provide berthing compartments for a maximum of six persons. As can be seen by these examples, the Navy will feel the greatest impact of this disadvantage due to its primary units - ships. The other Services should essentially feel no change as most barracks either are or are becoming coed at most military facilities. Thus this problem or disadvantage is not as significant as it would initially seem, as it

largely affects only the Navy which has already begun an earnest study of the problems associated with such an arrangement.

The other main disadvantage to the full utilization of women by the Armed Forces is the existence of women in combat in a battlefield environment. It is quite evident that the Services most affected by this disadvantage will be the Army and the Marine Corps. The key problems here will be the attitude of the men in the field as well as that of the women. The woman in this type of career field must be the kind that requires, expects and receives no special treatment from her male peers. Just as men who are unfit for combat in land warfare, either as a result of physical deficiency or mental attitude, should be removed from such an environment; the same should apply to women who volunteer for this type of duty. Essentially the disadvantage in this area is not one which can be measured by physical means but rather, is a matter of the disadvantages that happen as a result of preconceived attitudes and prejudices. The solution to this problem is a process of re-education of men and women alike to the fact that all women are individuals too, and they must be evaluated in that frame of mind.

Therefore, the main disadvantages to the full utilization of women by the Services do not outweigh the advantages of their full employment. The hypothesis is then true that - The talents and capabilities of women are such, and the opportunities for the implementation of these traits exist to

the extent, that there should be no barriers to the utilization of servicewomen except those that are inherent within the individual.

VI. CONCLUSION

As was stated in the introduction, the purpose of this thesis was to point out the existing restrictions to the full utilization of women by the Armed Forces. These were found to be in three categories: legal, pertaining to the laws of the country; service, pertaining to those created by the Services themselves; and the psychological and sociological factors which affect the attitude held by society as a whole, by men, and by women.

This thesis has examined the restrictions which affect women in the military as a whole rather than concentrating on a single branch of the Services. Thus it is by necessity general in nature and obviously all of the restrictions servicewomen face in one branch of the Services are not the same as those faced by women in another branch. The Marine Corps is by necessity the most restrictive of the four branches due essentially to the special make-up of its forces. Each of the other three has some areas which are more favorable to women than others. But all of the Services place restraints upon women that greatly impede the utilization of their talents and capabilities.

By far the most salient point of this examination has been the effect of society's traditional norms on the attitude of both men and women in barring the path of a rewarding career to the majority of women. Women have often either crippled themselves or hampered the progress of others by

maintaining an unswerving devotion to the traditional sex-role of wife and mother only.

In order to ensure that servicewomen are allowed to enter any career field that they are qualified to enter, as well as to ensure that the qualifications women are required to meet are not different from those required of men, an attitude change throughout society will be needed. This new attitude must be one which allows the individual, whether male or female, the same equality of choice as to career role. In addition, the following paragraphs will provide suggestions for laws and regulations which will require elimination or change to achieve this goal.

The regulations maintained by the individual Services which should be changed are those dealing with the enlistment of women and career fields closed to women. The essential change that will need to be made to the recruiting regulations is to make the requirement for a high school diploma or its equivalent and the test scores the same for both women and men. The Services also allow men in Intelligence Group IV to enlist, but women must be at least Group III and the scores are generally set in the top of this rank. The suggested resolution of this inconsistency is for the Services to set their enlistment requirements for a high school diploma or its equivalent and scores no lower than Group III. The specific instructions which must be revised by the individual Services are listed in Appendix A.

The recommendation was made to eliminate the differences in the regulations of the individual Services toward the requirements placed upon women to improve the quality of the All-Volunteer Force. This is considered feasible due to the small number of Group IV males that are allowed to enlist as compared to the total male enlistment and the available supply of qualified women to take their places. Thus in the area of regulations, the increasing of restrictions on males to the level that women are now under is considered helpful.

In the area of the laws which discriminate against servicewomen, it is suggested that the present restrictions against women be removed. This would in essence remove the barriers to women in combat, the requirement for separate promotion lists and the entrance of women into the service academies. There are other miscellaneous laws that would require elimination, but these three contained in Title 10 are the most prominent. As has been previously stated in this thesis, there are several bills in Congress at the present time to eliminate the restrictions to the entrance of women into the service academies. All three of these were originally in the new career legislation package that is now in Congress, as this thesis previously pointed out. The actual sections of Title 10 that would require revision are listed in Appendix B.

These two suggested methods of eliminating the differences that now exist in the regulations and laws dealing with servicewomen and servicemen also conform to the Equal

Rights Amendment. With the enlistment standards raised to the same level for both women and men there would no longer exist discrimination based upon sex. Given that the military will always be engaged in land warfare, the only way that discrimination based upon sex can be eliminated in the area of combat is to allow women to gain combat training through the service academies as well as any other means. The laws must be changed to allow women to participate in combat in any role in which they choose to volunteer and can qualify. Finally, the laws must be changed to allow the women to compete with their male peers for selection and promotion since they would no longer be handicapped by lack of combat experience.

This thesis thus recommends three methods for reducing and eliminating the barriers to the full utilization of servicewomen. First, re-educate society toward an acceptance of women as individuals who deserve equal opportunity with men. Second, raise the level of enlistment requirements for men to that now placed upon women. Third, remove the legal barriers which prohibit the use of or entrance of women into any career opportunity, including combat, and career field.

An appropriate conclusion to this thesis can be found in President Richard M. Nixon's State of the Union Address in 1972 [Ref. 56]:

"We recognize that women are often denied equal opportunity in society today. While every woman may not want a career outside the home, every woman should have the freedom to choose whatever career she wishes --and an equal chance to pursue it."

For the Armed Forces in the era of the All-Volunteer Army, the Equal Rights Amendment, and the women's liberation movement; it is imperative that women be allowed to undertake all career fields where sex is no barrier to qualification. Further, women should be allowed to succeed or perhaps fail due to abilities and shortcomings which are inherent in every individual rather than on traditional biases and stereotyped concepts of the "weaker sex."

APPENDIX A

INDIVIDUAL SERVICE REGULATIONS

The following regulations for the individual branches of the Armed Services will have to be revised in order to increase the restrictions on the enlistment of men to that currently placed upon women as suggested in this thesis.

<u>SERVICE</u>	<u>INSTRUCTION</u>	<u>REQUIRED REVISION</u>
Air Force	Air Training Command Manual (ATCM) 33-2	Change manual to allow women to serve on active duty at same age as allowed for men.
Army	Army Regulation (AR) 601-210	Change male enlistment requirements to must have high school diploma or GED equivalent and receive Group III score on the basic test battery. Lower score on basic battery for women from 59 to Group III score.
	Army Regulation (AR) 611-201	Delete Chapter 4 which designates those Military Occupational Specialities (MOSSs) that are not open to women.
Marine Corps	Military Personnel Procurement Manual (MPPM) Marine Corps Order (MCO) P1100-61	Change male enlistment requirements to must have high school diploma or GED equivalent and receive Group III score on the basic test battery. Lower score on basic battery for women from 61 to Group III score.
	Occupational Opportunities for Men and Women in the U.S. Marine Corps ME-05-73	Delete special designations for those occupational opportunities available to women.

<u>SERVICE</u>	<u>INSTRUCTION</u>	<u>REQUIRED REVISION</u>
Navy	Commander, Navy Recruiting Command COMNAVCRUITCOM Instruction 1130.8	Delete female guarantees for SEAFARER and AIRMAN programs and make male guarantees for both male and female. Change male enlistment requirements to must have high school diploma or GED equivalent and receive Group III score on the basic test battery.
	Enlisted Personnel Detailers Manual	Delete section in Chapter 6 which prohibits women from attending 14 of the Navy's Class "A" schools.

APPENDIX B

TITLE 10 SECTIONS

Since Title 10 of the United States Code contains the legal restrictions to the full utilization of servicewomen, the following sections are the ones that will have to be revised to carry out the suggestion made in this thesis. It is suggested that the restrictions to the entrance of women into combat and the service academies as well as the requirement that they be on separate promotion lists be eliminated.

<u>SECTION</u>	<u>TITLE OR STATEMENT</u>	<u>ACTION</u>
505.(c)(1)	Male enlistment lengths.	Delete the word "male."
505.(c)(2)	Female enlistment lengths.	Delete section.
505.(d)	Women can only enlist into Women's Army Corps.	Delete section.
591.(c)	Appointment of women into Reserves.	Delete section.
651.(a)	Members: required service.	Delete the word "male."
3071.	Women's Army Corps: Director; Deputy Director; other positions.	Delete section.
3209.	Regular Army: commissioned officers on active list; other branches; Women's Army Corps.	Delete section.
3215.	Regular Army: Women's Army Corps; warrant officers on active list; enlisted members on active duty.	Delete section.

<u>SECTION</u>	<u>TITLE OR STATEMENT</u>	<u>ACTION</u>
3283.(a)	Commissioned without specification of branch.	Delete phrase "in the Women's Army Corps."
3283.(b)	Commissioned Officers: appointment without specification of branch; transfer between branches.	Delete phrase "and the Women's Army Corps."
3296.(b)(2)	Separate promotion list.	Delete section.
3297.(a)	Selection boards.	Delete phrase "a selection board considering promotion-list of officers of the Women's Army Corps under section 3300 (a) or (b) of this title may include officers of the Regular Army in that corps whose regular or temporary grades are above major, and."
3311.	Officers: female; limitations on appointment.	Delete section.
3364.(a)	Commissioned officers: selection for promotion; order of promotion; zone of consideration list; declination of promotion.	Delete phrase "and to the Women's Army Corps."
3364.(b)	Commissioned officers: selection for promotion; order of promotion; zone of consideration list; declination of promotion."	Delete phrase "or the Women's Army Corps."
3364.(c)	Commissioned officers: selection for promotion; order of promotion; zone of consideration list; declination of promotion.	Delete phrase "or the Women's Army Corps."

<u>SECTION</u>	<u>TITLE OR STATEMENT</u>	<u>ACTION</u>
3383.(b)	Promotion to fill vacancy in Army Reserve.	Delete sentence "Whenever the Secretary determines that a vacancy may be filled by an officer of the Women's Army Corps, officers of that branch are eligible for consideration even though the vacancy is not allocated to that branch."
3580.	Command: commissioned officers of Women's Army Corps.	Delete section.
3818.	Regular female members: termination of appointment or enlistment.	Delete section.
4342.	Cadets: appointment; numbers, territorial distribution.	Change "sons" to "children."
4346.(a)	Cadets: requirements for admission.	Change "his" and "he" to "his/her" and "he/she."
4346.(b)	Cadets: requirements for admission.	Change "he" to "he/she."
5143.	Bureau of Naval Personnel: Assistant Chief of Women.	Delete section.
5206.	Director of Women Marines: detail; retirement.	Delete section.
5452.	Navy: women line officers on active duty; Marine Corps: women officers on active duty.	Delete section.
5504.(k)(5)	Separate lineal list for Regular women officers.	Delete section.
5504.(k)(6)	Separate lineal list for Reserve women officers.	Delete section.

<u>SECTION</u>	<u>TITLE OR STATEMENT</u>	<u>ACTION</u>
5581.	Naval Reserve: Medical Corps, Dental Corps, Medical Service Corps: women.	Delete section.
5582.	Regular Navy: transfers, line and staff corps.	Delete the word "male."
5583.	Regular Marine Corps: from noncommissioned officers.	Delete the word "male."
5589.	Regular Navy and Marine Corps: officers designated for limited duty.	Delete the word "male."
5590.	Regular Navy and Marine Corps: women.	Delete section.
5596.(a)	Navy and Marine Corps: temporary appointments.	Delete the word "male."
5596.(g)(1)	Ineligible for temporary appointments.	Delete section.
5664.	Regular Navy: women staff corps officers appointed under section 5590 of this title.	Delete section.
5704.	Navy and Marine Corps; women officers: promotion.	Delete section.
5707.(a)(1)	Officers to be recommended for promotion or continuation.	Delete the word "male."
5707.(a)(2)	Officers to be recommended for promotion or continuation.	Delete phrase ", other than women officers appointed under section 5590 of this title."
5707.(a)(3)	Officers to be recommended for promotion or continuation.	Delete phrase "other than women officers appointed under section 5590 of this title."
5707.(a)(4)	Promotion of women officers.	Delete section.
5707.(a)(5)	Promotion of women officers.	Delete section.

<u>SECTION</u>	<u>TITLE OR STATEMENT</u>	<u>ACTION</u>
5708.(b)	Promotion reports.	Delete the word "male."
5708.(b)(5)	Promotion reports on women in the Navy.	Delete section.
5708.(b)(6)	Promotion reports on women in the Marine Corps.	Delete section.
5708.(c)(1)	Certification of report.	Delete phrase ", other than officers appointed under section 5590 of the title in the grade of lieutenant or lieutenant (junior grade)."
5708.(d)	Certification of report.	Delete section.
5751.	Navy, male line officers; Marine Corps, male officers: eligibility for consideration by selection board.	Delete the word "male."
5752.	Navy, women line officers; Marine Corps, women officers: eligibility for consideration for promotion.	Delete section.
5756.	Navy, male line officers not restricted in the performance of duty; Marine Corps, male officers not restricted in the performance of duty: numbers that may be recommended.	Delete the word "male."
5757.	Regular Navy, male line officers designated for limited duty; Regular Marine Corps, male officers designated for limited duty: numbers that may be recommended.	Delete the word "male."

<u>SECTION</u>	<u>TITLE OR STATEMENT</u>	<u>ACTION</u>
5758.	Regular Navy; male officers designated for engineering duty, aeronautical engineering duty, and special duty: numbers that may be recommended.	Delete the word "male."
5760.	Regular Navy, women line officers; Regular Marine Corps, women officers: number that may be recommended.	Delete section.
5763.	Regular Navy; women staff corps officers appointed under section 5590 of this title: number that may be recommended for promotion.	Delete section.
5764.	Navy; line officers; promotion zones.	Delete the word "male."
5768.	Navy, male line officers; Marine Corps, male officers: normal terms of service in grade and total commissioned service.	Delete the word "male."
5769.	Navy, male line officers; Marine Corps, male officers: eligibility for promotion.	Delete the word "male."
5770.	Regular Navy; male line officers not restricted to the performance of duty or designated for limited duty: sea or foreign service required.	Delete the word "male."
5771.	Navy, women line officers; Marine Corps, women officers: eligibility for promotion.	Delete section.
5776.(b)	Failure of selection.	Delete the word "male."
5780.	Regular Navy, male line officers; Regular Marine Corps, male officers: permanent promotion.	Delete the word "male."

<u>SECTION</u>	<u>TITLE OR STATEMENT</u>	<u>ACTION</u>
5783.	Naval Reserve and Marine Corps Reserve: permanent promotion.	Delete the word "male."
5784.	Navy, ensigns; Marine Corps, second lieutenants: temporary promotion.	Delete the word "male."
5784.(f)	Women cannot be temporarily promoted to ensign or second lieutenant under this title.	Delete section.
5784.(a)	Suspension: preceding sections.	Delete the word "male."
5785.(b)	Suspension: preceding sections.	Delete phrase ", other than women officers appointed under section 5590 of this title."
5787b.	Navy, women ensigns; Marine Corps, women second lieutenants: temporary promotion.	Delete section.
6015.	Women members: duty; qualifications; restrictions.	Delete section.
6018.	Naval officers: shore duty; limitations.	Delete phrase "and other than a woman officer appointed under section 5590 of this title."
6386.(a)	Suspension: preceding sections.	Delete phrase "other than women officers appointed under section 5590 of this title," and the word "male."
6387.	Regular Navy, male line officers; Regular Marine Corps, male officers: computation of total commissioned service.	Delete the word "male."

<u>SECTION</u>	<u>TITLE OR STATEMENT</u>	<u>ACTION</u>
6393.	Regular Navy; women captains and commanders; Regular Marine Corps, women colonels and lieutenant colonels: retirement for length of service; retired grade and pay.	Delete section.
6400.	Regular Navy, women lieutenant commanders; Regular Marine Corps, women majors: retirement for length of service; retired grade and pay.	Delete section.
6401.	Regular Navy, women lieutenants; Regular Marine Corps, captains: discharge for length of service; severance pay.	Delete section.
6402.	Regular Navy, women lieutenants (junior grade); Regular Marine Corps, first lieutenants: discharge for length of service; severance pay.	Delete section.
6403.	Naval Reserve and Marine Corps Reserve; women officers: elimination from active status.	Delete section.
6954.	Midshipmen: number.	Change "sons" to "children."
6956.(d)	Midshipmen: nomination and selection to fill vacancies.	Change "men" to "personnel."
6958.(a)(1)	Midshipmen: qualifications for admission.	Change "his" and "he" to "his/her" and "he/she."
6958.(b)	Midshipmen: qualifications for admission.	Change "he" to "he/she."
8208.	Regular Air Force: commissioned officers on active list; female commissioned officers, other than those designated under section 8067 of this title to perform professional functions.	Delete section.

<u>SECTION</u>	<u>TITLE OR STATEMENT</u>	<u>ACTION</u>
8215.	Regular Air Force: female warrant officers on active duty.	Delete section.
8549.	Duties: female members limitations.	Delete section.
8818.	Regular female members: termination of appointment or enlistment.	Delete section.
9342.	Cadets: appointment; numbers, territorial distribution.	Change "sons" to "children."
9346.	Cadets: requirements for admission.	Change "his" and "he" to "his/her" and "he/she."

There are many other places that the words "his" and "he" are used throughout this title. These will also require revision or a statement in the definition of terms section to the fact that these do not refer to males alone but are rather used in the general sense. The reason the particular instances were chosen for revision of these terms is because some have chosen to interpret these words literally in these quotations. As a result, these quotations are being used to prohibit the entrance of women to the service academies.

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